2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

231 434 pesos per year. Adding to this the cost of the pig, we have an expense of 212½ pesos. If the pig is sold for 225, there is a profit of only 12½ pesos after a year's work.

Raising pigs would seem to be more profitable, but the risk is also greater. A year-[435] old breeder pig costs about 150 pesos, and feed for a year runs to 182½—a total expense of 332½ pesos. An average litter of eight, sold at 30 pesos each, gives an income of 240 pesos, providing there are no losses. This income can be obtained for three or four years in succession and then the pig can be fattened and sold for 250 to 300 pesos.

231 435 The price of livestock, like that of most other items, has increased greatly since the turn of the century. The sharpest increase has occurred since 1940. (See Table 40.)

TABLE 40. Price of Work Animals in Pesos, 1901–1944.

Years	Plow Oxen	Mules	Horses	Donkeys
1901–1910	40	60	35	15
1911–1920	35	30	25	15
1921–1925	50	100	40	20
1926–1930	60	125	50	25
1931–1935	65	125	60	25
1936	70	150	70	30
1937	75	170	75	30
1938	80	175	75	30
1939	85	180	80	30
1940	100	180	85	30
1941	110	200	100	35
1942	125	200	125	35
1943	200	200	125	50
June, 1944	400	300	200	75

234 [438] Milk is sold locally by less than a dozen families. The local market consists of a small but increasing group of schoolteachers and Mexican tourists. Most of the milk produced is converted into cheese and sold in the village. It is estimated that [434] a cow produces an average of two liters of milk daily during a period of seven [435] months a year. At current prices of 45 centavos a liter, this would give an annual income of 159 pesos plus about 50 pesos for the value of the calf.

231 [782] Cattle owners will often pay the priest to say a Mass for the protection of the cattle, and are expected to contribute generously to religious fiestas. When a cow or ox is sold, it is customary for the seller to use a portion of the money to light a candle to El Señor de Ixcatepec. When there are *jaripeos* and bullfights, the larger operators generally contribute bulls and money for *ponche* and fireworks.

[776] Most cattle owners have an image of San Antonio, the patron saint of cattle, [777] in their homes. Horseshoes are believed to bring good luck and are seen on the walls of many houses, especially in the homes of livestock owners.

[789] To keep cattle from wandering away, it was customary for the owner to cut off hair from the ear of the cow or ox and bury it under the hearth. This was done

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

185 [426] birth, but rather greater application to the task of earning money after its arrival. The lack of foresight forces individuals into many distasteful borrowing situations and creates indebtedness among a people who abhor it.

177 152 571 There is comparatively little anxiety or sense of frustration in connection with personal success or self-development. What anxiety there is, stems from fear of a hostile environment and from the poor quality of inter-personal relations. Exceptions to this are found primarily among the more educated and acculturated group, particularly among the youth who have been to school outside of the village. It is among these individuals that we find greater dissatisfaction, ambition, desire for self-development, and fear of personal failure. These are also the people who show signs of maladjustment in the village.

156 183 [154] [753] Of special interest, for the understanding of the relative absence of frustration or anxiety, is the tendency to shift personal responsibility to others or to impersonal forces and to explain non-conformity in terms of magical or other supernatural forces, which are believed to control the individual. The illness or death of a child may thus be attributed by the mother to the "evil eye" or to *espunto*, rather than to her own negligence. Illness of a child after weaning will be attributed to jealousy rather than to the brusque change in diet or poor maternal care. A young girl who breaks all the rules and goes after a boy may be said to have been bewitched. A man who is dominated by his wife is said to have been drugged.

154 593 This shifting of responsibility is also expressed in other situations. In the short formal speech made by the parents to their future son-in-law, they remind him that the decision to marry their daughter is his own, and that he must not blame them if she turns out bad. Parents sometimes express a certain amount of relief when a son or daughter leaves home to work or to marry, for they no longer feel responsibility for his or her behavior. It is also not uncommon for parents to comfort themselves with the same thought at the death of a child.

777 154 [691] Other traits, such as fatalism, stoicism in the face of misfortune, passivity, acceptance of things as they are, and a general readiness to expect the worst, tend to lift from the individual the burden of personal responsibility for his fate, and perhaps help to explain the relative absence of guilt or self-blame. Even in the face of gross injustice, in which the individual is protected by law, there may be little or no self-defense.

For example, a man who has been cheated out of a piece of property by a wealthier or more educated person may put up little fight on the ground that he will surely lose against the greater power of the other. A widow whose daughter was raped by a wealthy man did not press charges because, she said, "There is no justice for the poor and defenseless."

777 626 [661] [208] This attitude is even more striking in regard to injustices against society as a whole or against village interests. Stealing public funds, misleading or mishandling citizens by officials, or immoral behavior on the part of a person in power usually go unpunished and often uncriticized in public, although there may be much private resentment. The absence of strong public opinion, which generally controls

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the behavior of public figures, is directly related to many of the characteristics described previously.

Is the social character of Tepoztlán unique to Tepoztlán, or is it typical of other rural Mexican communities? A definitive answer must wait until we have seen more culture and personality studies than are now available. Indeed, the study of inter-personal relations in rural Mexico and other parts of Central America is still in its infancy.[8] Nevertheless, some of the existing monographs give us considerable insight and make some comparisons possible.

George Foster, in his monograph on the Tarascan village of Tzintzuntzan, writes as follows about the people:

> The collectivistic aspects of rural and Indian Mexican life have been stressed in many studies of Mexico, and much recent Government planning, such as the development of the *ejidos*, has been predicated on the assumption that this is a dominant characteristic of rural peoples. In Tzintzuntzan one is struck, not with the collectivistic but rather with the strong tradition of individualistic attitudes. . . .[9]
>
> Self-criticism is an unknown virtue—if such it is—and failure is always due to elements beyond one's control; the weather, bad luck, the unscrupulousness of other persons, but never is it the fault of the individual himself. . . .[10]
>
> Mistrust, suspicion, and fear are the common reactions to new persons or situations. One tends to jump to conclusions, to suspect the worst rather than the best about both old friends and new. In any new social relationship it is assumed that the other person is trying to get the better of one. . . .[11]
>
> . . . the possibility of material success is so limited by ecological and economic factors that few persons can ever expect to get far ahead . . . the wealth goal is difficult and almost impossible of attainment; hence, the stimulus of a reasonable chance of success is lacking. Since one's own life is so much a series of frustrations one takes pleasure in noting the difficulties of neighbors, even though . . . it is a case of biting off the nose to spite the face. Consciously or unconsciously the average Tzintzuntenyo realizes that in a material way he probably never will advance far. Hence, he envies, criticizes, and abuses his rare neighbor who does so, meanwhile further neglecting his own work.[12]

All of this applies accurately to Tepoztlán.

Elsie Clews Parsons, in her monograph on the Zapotecan town of Mitla, gives us a summary of Mitla character in a discussion of what traits are Indian and what are Spanish. Again we find many similarities in Tepoztlán. She writes:

> Psychological analysis I cannot attempt, as this study is cultural rather than psychological, but on occasion I have referred to psychological attitudes which have appeared to me

[8] There are very few studies of Mexican national character. The Mexican philosopher, Samuel Ramos, has made a pioneer effort in his *El Perfil del Hombre y la Cultura en México*. Mexico, 1938. Ramos believes that feelings of inferiority are the basic traits of the Mexican character. Findings in Tepoztlán do not bear this out.

[9] Foster, *Empire's Children*, p. 287.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 287-88.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 288.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

mon. Without exception, our informants described labor dramatically, with emphasis upon the pain. "It is death to bear a baby" is a common sentiment. Some look back at labor with shuddering and expressions of horror, even fifteen years after the birth of their last child. Midwives report that many mothers are severely frightened during and after delivery and must be calmed by being heated with a smoky fire. *Pericón* or rosemary or laurel, or all three, are burned in an old clay pot, and the strong smelling smoke is directed underneath the blanket to heat the woman's lower parts.

After the child is born, the *cenidor* is tightened around the upper part of the abdomen to prevent the blood and the placenta from rising in the mother and possibly causing her death. If the afterbirth is slow in coming, it is a common custom to put salt and onion into the mother's hand so that she can smell them, and she is given some mint leaves to chew. Sometimes a very hot tortilla is placed on the right side of the abdomen and pressed down by the midwife. In very delayed cases some midwives insert their hands to try to pull out the afterbirth.

The afterbirth is buried under the hearth. It is believed that if it is left anywhere else, the baby's face will swell; if it is thrown into the corral, as some do, it may cause *daño;* if it is eaten by a dog, the mother will die. The umbilical cord is cut with a scissors about 4 or 5 fingers away from the child. The remaining cord is tied with a thread and burned with a few drops of wax from a tallow candle. The wax is applied every day until the cord drops off. The umbilical cord is generally kept inside the house and saved to be later used in the treatment of some eye diseases. Some sell the cord to *curanderos* for about twenty-five centavos each. Many believe that only the umbilical cord of the first child or the first son is effective. When a child is born in a caul, it is said he will be rich. The caul is carefully saved for good luck.

Only an occasional woman in Tepoztlán has her child delivered by a doctor. Somewhat more frequently he is called in after delivery if there is some difficulty. The high cost of calling a doctor from Cuernavaca [11] made it prohibitive for the great majority of the families. However, even those with money do not generally call a doctor, particularly a male doctor. The prudishness and suspiciousness of the women are a major inhibiting factor. Women who have used a doctor have become the target of much malicious gossip.

The following quotation from a woman of one of the large barrios is an example of the nature of the gossip, in this case concerning a local schoolteacher, "First she called a *curandero,* and her baby was born, and everything was fine. But she sent for a doctor just to have him feel her, to play with her because that is what she wanted. The midwife said that when the doctor arrived he uncovered the patient and put in his hand and after he played with her he sewed her up. Then he grabbed the baby by the belly and he had it hang that way as though it were his toy. He could have killed him! But that is what they wanted. As for me, for nothing in the

[11] Now there is a doctor in the village.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

796 *Fiesta of Sixth Friday of Lent or Viernes de Dolores,* celebrated in the parish church: Fasting is required. This is the beginning of Holy Week.

[785] *Fiesta of Sábado de Dolores,* celebrated in the parish church: This is celebrated with holy offices and a Vía Crucis procession.

[778] *Fiesta of Palm Sunday,* celebrated in the parish church: This is a very important holiday. Tepoztecans take palm leaves to be blessed by the priest. It is believed that blessed palm protects against lightning. Ashes of blessed palm placed upon the head are thought to cure bad headaches. Blessed palm is also placed at the door of the house to prevent fires and being struck by lightning.

[821] [755]

Fiesta of Holy Monday and Holy Tuesday, celebrated in the parish church: These are days of great devotion. The religious associations are very active, visiting the church and barrio chapels. Many Tepoztecans choose these days for their annual confession.

[783] *Fiesta of Holy Wednesday:* Rigorous fasting begins. Meat is not eaten until the Saturday of Glory. Substitute foods are beans, *huauzontle, tortas,* stuffed peppers, fish, *revoltijo,* and lentils. All work must stop through the Sunday of Resurrection. Women prepare tortillas for the rest of the week. In the evening is the vigil of the Lord, the men taking turns all through the night. Women customarily go to church in the late afternoon to pray the thirty-three Credos, one for each year of Jesus' life. It is believed that those who do this will triple their earnings during the year.

[785] [262] [461] [777]

Holy Thursday: The church is full on this day. The priest dramatically describes the passion of Christ, and crying on the part of women is common. Not to do so is "to have a cold heart." In the afternoon is the ceremonial foot-washing of the apostles.

[788]

Holy Friday: This is the culminating day of Holy Week. Throughout the village there is profound quietude. No one must run or shout or use bad words, so as not to offend the Lord. The men silently drink their *ponche* together while the women, dressed in black, go to church. On this day, children are not to be struck, for "it would be striking the Lord."

[861]

Holy Saturday: At 7:00 A.M. the faithful of the village and the municipio go to the church where the priest pronounces the "Gloria in Excelsis Deo." With this all the bells, which have been silent since Wednesday, are rung, and joy spreads through the village. While the bells ring, old men trim their plants so that they will produce more, mothers snip the ends of their daughter's hair to make it grow longer, and children are struck on the legs to make them grow taller. Two or three *comparsas* are organized to dance on this day.

[788] [824] [826] [856] [535] [273]

Easter Sunday: Everyone dresses well and goes to Mass. Sometimes the *chinelos* leap in the afternoon. People stand in little groups in the plaza, and men drink a great deal.

April 29. *Fiesta of San Pedro,* celebrated in San Pedro: The only unusual feature of this fiesta is the group of children who dance for San Pedro.

May 1-31. All this month is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and *rosarios* are held every afternoon. Girls from seven to fifteen years of age dress in white and bring flowers to the Virgin.

May 3. *Fiesta of Santa Cruz,* celebrated in Santa Cruz: This fiesta is celebrated not only in this barrio but in all homes and places having crosses. All crosses are adorned with flowers, especially Bougainvillaea. Incense is burned, and fireworks are set off. This fiesta is also celebrated in Ixcatepec, but is postponed until the following Sunday in deference to the barrio of Santa Cruz. It is one of the best attended fiestas. There are cockfights and visiting dancers from Yautepec and Milpa Alta.

[782] [541] [648]

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

May 8. *Fiesta of San Miguel*, celebrated in San Miguel: This is one of the two annual fiestas of this barrio. As one of the larger barrios, it spends huge sums to have an impressive fiesta. 796

The following Thursday. *Fiesta of Thursday of the Ascensión*, celebrated in the parish church: This is a movable fiesta, which comes seven weeks after Holy Thursday. Mass is said in the large church, and fireworks are set off. The peasants must rest this day. [461] [439]

Ten days later. *Fiesta of Tlanepantla*, celebrated in Tlanepantla: A favorite fiesta of Tepoztecans, who carry *aguacate*, *cuajilote*, and *zapote blanco* for sale.

All of June is dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

About June 12. *Fiesta of La Santísima*, celebrated in La Santísima: La Santísima, traditional rival of Santo Domingo, organizes an impressive fiesta, with the usual playing of the *chirimía*, and the eating of *mole* and tamales.

June 24. *Fiesta of Day of San Juan*, celebrated in San Juan: Boys and girls sing *mañanitas* to the image of San Juan at dawn. Then they visit houses where persons named Juan or Juanita live, and they sing *mañanitas*. In the afternoon, the young people go out to the fields to seek four-leaf clovers for luck. [533] [777]

June 29. *Fiesta of San Pedro*, celebrated in San Pedro: Similar to other fiestas.

July 16. *Fiesta of Day of Virgin of Carmen*, celebrated in the parish church: All who wear the scapulary of this virgin must attend Mass.

July 22. *Fiesta of Amatlán*, celebrated in Amatlán: Generally only about fifty Tepoztecans attend. [484]

July 25. *Fiesta of Santiago*, celebrated in Santiago: During our visit about 150 persons from Tepoztlán attended.

Aug. 4. *Fiesta of Santo Domingo*, celebrated in Santo Domingo: An important fiesta which lasts three days. A band is hired in Mexico City for greater prestige. There are *toros*, cockfights, dancers, and fireworks. [533] [541]

Aug. 6. *Fiesta of San Salvador*, celebrated in Santa Cruz and Ixcatepec: Follows the usual patterns of barrio fiestas.

Aug. 15. *Fiesta of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary*, celebrated in Tejalpa.

Sept. 8. *Fiesta of the Virgin of the Natividad*, patron of Tepoztlán: This is one of the most important village-wide fiestas, combining pre-Hispanic and Catholic elements. The Catholic ceremony in honor of the Virgin takes place in the church; the honor to El Tepozteco takes place out of doors. A dance to El Tepozteco is held to the accompaniment of the ancient *teponaztle* and a traditional discourse of El Tepozteco in Náhuatl is spoken. [776] [527]

Sept. 28. *Day of the Blessing of the Pericón*, celebrated in the parish church and cornfields: This is an outing day for Tepoztecans who go out into the cornfields to row fresh corn and place crosses of blessed *pericón* at the four corners of the milpas. Similar crosses are also placed in the homes, for it is believed that on this night the demons are loose, and the evil winds blow hard. [527] [778] [776]

Sept. 29. *Fiesta of Barrio of San Miguel*, celebrated in San Miguel: Follows the tradition of other barrio fiestas.

Oct. 31. *All Saints' Day (Children)*, celebrated in the parish church, in the homes, and at the cemetery: Day in commemoration of dead children. A candle is lighted for the dead child, and incense is burned.[9] [769] [782]

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[9] See Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, for more detailed description.